donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

[p. 24(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries established north of the Hsining River and in the prefectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723. 175 792

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[125]

The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[126] [212]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes. 175 771

The country was at peace and the future filled with the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crumbled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with 175 579 771

[125] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372–374.
[126] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242. [p. 34(A)]

its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chiebzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma grutchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

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[127] *Shih-lu, Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner: that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46–48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu, Shih-lu, Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; 55*b*–56*a*, 56*b*.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

WHAT WERE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THESE CALAMITIES?

The troubles in Lhasa at the beginning of the eighteenth century ruined the influence and power of the Qoshot Mongols in Tibet who had founded the realm of the Dalai Lama.[130] bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, the grandson of Gushi, devising the unification of the Qoshots and the revival in his person of the imperial dream of Gushi, assumed the title of Dalai Hung-T'aichi, and broke into open rebellion against China in the eighth month (September, 1723).[131] His rebellion did not have much appeal for the divided Qoshots, and his power was greatly enfeebled. However, having obtained the tremendous support of the mK'ampo Nomun-khan, superior and chief of Kumbum and his nephew, who called all the lamas and Tibetans of Huang-chung to take sides with him, Bstan-dsin started invading the Chinese frontier and Huang-chung.

Since it was feared that Bstan-dsin would perturb Tibet, the Chinese authorities acted with great promptness.[132] Nien Keng-Yao, marshal for the pacification of the distant countries, and General Yüeh Chung-ch'i were provided with strict instructions to furnish a drastic example for the government which had so lavishly bestowed unusual favors on the lamas of Huang-chung. Nien Keng-yao disposed of 900,000 soldiers,[133] of whom 3,000 were soldiers of the Monguor T'u-ssu. He crushed the revolt by March, 1724, and made Bstan-dsin flee with but a few men. The example was drastic. The revolted lamas and tribes were severely punished, and the monasteries destroyed. In the reports of General Funingga, concerning the quelling of the revolt of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, written in the Manchu language, and sent to the emperor from Hsining, not a single word is encountered about the part played by the Hsining lamas in the revolt or of the drastic repression by Nien Keng-yao, although Funingga three times had defeated the Moslems and Tibetans who helped bLo-bzan. It is not easy to guess the reason for this reticence.[134]

WHERE WERE THE THREE CELEBRITIES OF ERH-KU-LUNG AT THAT TIME?

The Chang-chia of that time, the second, was still a boy seven years of age. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung had hidden him at the monastery of Chiar-too. Nien Keng-yao, according to orders of Peking, brought the boy there. The whereabouts of T'u-kuan seem mysterious. In 1720 he was in Lhasa, vested with a diplomatic mis-

[130] Here the consequences of the revolt relative to Lamaism are exposed. The political aspects are dealt with in Schram, *op. cit.*, 36–37.

[131] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82.

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] *Tung-hua-lu, Yung-cheng* 3: 29.

[134] *Berichte des Generals Funingga*, 18 *Jahrhundert*, 104–114, 1953.

[p. 35 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

sion, but he seems to have been back in Peking before 1723. Perhaps he remained at the capital, because Huth [135] tells us that the emperor told him that he was worried about the events in Huang-chung. However, Schuleman says [136] that having been "condoned" he was "brought" to Peking and, a few years later (1729), thanks to his counsel and influence, the emperor allowed the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok to be rebuilt and he contributed to their reconstruction.[137] At that time Sumpa was still a minor Living Buddha, studying at Lhasa. In his later works Sumpa came to the fore with stern uncompromising character in the cause of principles, condemning the acts of lamas who killed human beings. In caustic and cutting terms he frankly put all the blame of these tragic events on the mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the chiefs of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, and on the lamas who caused the ruin of all the monasteries, the destruction of their property, and the death of their subjects, whom they had forced to take their side in the trouble. He defended the line of action and the policy of the emperor and did not put a shadow of blame on the drastic means used by the Chinese officers to crush the revolt.[138]

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

The regulations governing Lamaism in Huang-chung after the repression of the revolt were as drastic as the repression itself. They show that the emperor was bursting with indignation, at the appalling ingratitude of the monasteries, for he resolved in dead earnest to use an iron policy in handling the turbulent lamas. All the titles and seals of "teachers of the empire" (*kuo-shih*) and "Masters in Dhyana" (*Ch'an-shih*), granted to outstanding and meritorious lamas during the Ming dynasty, were recalled. The complement of lamas was not to exceed three hundred men for the big monasteries, and ten or more for the small monasteries. Lamas were not allowed to have more than one disciple.

Twice a year the Chinese officials were to investigate the monasteries for observance of regulations for which the abbots had been made responsible, to check the number of lamas, and to prevent the concealing of weapons. All the subjects of the lamaseries had to become subjects of the Chinese administration, and the land taxes accruing to the lamas had to be collected by Chinese officials. The subjects of monasteries became liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese for building cities, digging canals, and for the army. Trials and suits were brought under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Every year the Chinese officials had to grant

[135] Huth, *op. cit.*, 285.
[136] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 179.
[137] Petech, *op. cit.*, 87.
[138] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1) : 47.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

each lama a certain amount of wheat and a fixed sum of silver as compensation for the withdrawn taxes.[139] 175 792 579

The revolt of 1723 ruined the former wealth and prestige of the lamaseries. The Chinese officials, who before 1723 had acted reluctantly as humble servants of the chiefs of the lamaseries for fear of the emperor, became their superiors. They acted as such especially in courts of justice, when monasteries and lamas accused each other, or when Chinese brought suit against monasteries. In the minds of the Chinese officials the prestige of Chang-chia and other Hutukhtus of Huang-chung had slipped down many rungs of the ladder of glory. Hutukhtus had to remain in Peking where an honorable office was assigned to them, principally in order to make hostages of them and to prevent new revolts of lamas. Their powers were reduced to honorary dimensions. (The iron hand in the velvet glove!)

Regardless of the fact that titles and distinctions had been granted to the lamas, these drastic regulations were never revoked. Before 1723 the lamas were in the lap of luxury; they collected taxes on their fields which were tilled by their subjects. Now, this primary source of wealth vanished, and their land became of less value.

The boundaries of the extensive properties granted them by the emperors had never been accurately drawn. For the most part, monasteries had simply occupied land adjacent to their property, for at that time they were omnipotent. For more than a century, suits followed concerning the delimitation of the boundaries, which continually shrank, the Chinese officials being eager to sell land to Chinese.

The official revenues of the lamas were restricted to the collection of rents and to a pitifully small amount of wheat and a little silver granted to them yearly.[140] The officials soon substituted poor, cheaper barley for the wheat, and the weight of the grain received was below the official weight; silver was converted into cash and the profit on the exchange went into the pockets of the officials. The subjects of the lamaseries were now subject to the Chinese officials, under whose jurisdiction they were liable to corvée. They were thus withdrawn from the influence of the lamaseries. The once powerful lamas swallowed the bitter pill; evil times had befallen them. The consequences of the revolt of 1723, which had brought Lamaism to such a pass, still prevailed under the Republic.

CONDITIONS OF ERH-KU-LUNG IN 1910–1920

The number of lamas had shrunk from 2,500 in 1723 to 270. Only two of the four former colleges still existed. Eleven minor Living Buddhas inhabited the monastery. The temples, homes for lamas and Living Buddhas, and administrative buildings, had been re- 175 792

[139] *Shen-wu-chi*, ch. 5, p. 12; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525; *Fan-pu*, 1, p. 7a; *Tung-hua-lu, Yung cheng, op. cit.* 4: 34-36.
[140] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 12a.

[p. 36 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Buddhas. The special *swork'a* or prayer honoring his deity is read by the lamas, and the Kurtain is proclaimed to be a genuinely possessed man. Then he is ordered to memorize his *swork'a* and to recite it before each performance, it being an invitation to his deity to descend into him. 756 787

Then follow the usual recommendations given to all Kurtains about continence on the day of a performance, not to act when his wife is giving birth and at mourning time, not to indulge in wine, to keep his weapons (sword, whip, and dagger) in a decent place and not to use them for other purposes; to give a performance at the monastery at the annual pageant time and in the families where his deity is specially honored, and always stress is put on the obligation to be loyal, honest, and dependable, so as not to cast a blight on the institution. Every time I heard this last recommendation, I remembered what the Monguors had said so many times, that among the Kurtains more dubious fellows are encountered than among the shamans, and for that reason the shamans are invited more by them than the Kurtains. They always added the story of the famous Kurtain of Toolong, which was seared in their mind. It seems really typical and sheds an unfavorable light on the institution. [944]

Many years ago, the Kurtain of Toolong used to predict whether there would be outbreaks of arson in autumn when the crops were heaped upon the threshing floor. In this way he earned a pretty good living, because the crops of the people who had invited him for the performance of his rites were preserved and those of the incredulous people were burned at night. The whole country was really disturbed. However, suspicions arose and the arsonist was taken redhanded one night. He turned out to be the old father of the Kurtain. The chief and the elders of the village hung the old man by his thumbs from a tree and he received a well-deserved lashing to make him reveal the instigator of the arson. Reeling with dizziness and pain, welts and bruises all over his body, the father accused his son, and the Kurtain was hung up and tortured. The infuriated villagers came within a hair of killing him. His mandate of disciple of the spirit was gone forever. Such events are very prejudicial to the Kurtains. They cast a blemish on their group and are commented on all over the country for years, and so the saying goes that there are few good genuine Kurtains, and for that reason all have to be tested.[2] 756 685 [687]

Some of the Kurtains not only upset the villagers once in a while, but even land the monasteries in serious trouble. A fact well known in the country runs, that on the fifteenth of the first moon in 1914, the lamas of the important lamasery of Seerkok invited their Kurtain, possessed by the deity Kortong, to the ceremony carried out in honor of the deity, with great pomp and display. 756 579

[2] DeGroot, *op. cit.*, 1238, notes a similar case of a *Wu* arsonist.

(p.93(A)]

The feast is celebrated all over the country. The Kurtain is dressed by the lamas in a splendid, long green gown with large sleeves, cut according to the style of the gown worn by Taoist priests. On his back are fixed a couple of small flags, and on his head he wears a helmet. He wears a sword, and holds in his hands a bow and three arrows. He is costumed like the warriors often seen in the theatrical exhibitions performed by Chinese actors.

The Living Buddha Kortong, incarnation of the deity, opened the pageant in the main temple, sitting on his throne presiding over the ceremony. The lamas, cross-legged, sat in a circle in the temple. The Kurtain sat on his low Chinese table in the center of the gathering of the monks with his legs sprawled wide apart. The throng crowded into the forecourt, following the display by looking through the open doors of the temple. The lamas started singing in unison the *swork'a*, and the Kurtain shook his head, ringing his small bells. Becoming excited, he danced his furious dance, worked himself into a frenzy, and played with his sword, whip, and dagger. Then he ran out of the temple, shot three arrows in the air, drank a draught of ox blood out of a bucket and spat it on some handfuls of barley which he threw in the direction of the audience, who tried to catch them in the skirts of their gowns. These grains are supposed to cure all kinds of illness and procure fertility for the women. However, the grains once they fall on the ground lose their magical efficacy.

Then followed the customary questions. The Kurtain all of a sudden again became so mad and wild as to unsheath his sword, and killed an employee of the tribunal of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung, who was attending the show. The Kurtain fled after his savage exploit and disappeared. The lamasery was saddled with the trouble and had to pay a very substantial indemnity. This fact, well known all over the country, is always recalled when Monguors talk about the violence and ferocity of the possessed Kurtains. It is no wonder that, during the exhibitions of Kurtains in the village temples, some people are often frightened out of their wits, take to their heels in panic, and leave the temple.

It happens more often that the Kurtain troubles the feast of the spring, performed by shamans in the village. At the moment when the people are devoutly and happily listening to the prophesies of the shamans, concerning the auspicious prospects for the harvest, a Kurtain arises and furiously asserts that his spirit has revealed to him that terrible hailstorms will destroy the crops of the village. In the southern valley, in the village called "the Eleventh House of the Li T'u-ssu," in 1914, a serious fight started between the shamans and the Kurtain, who was carried away unconscious. The Kurtain brought suit against the shamans at the Chinese court. The prefect delegated the guild of the Taoist priests to settle this matter between religious people.

756 579 [942] 756 578 [p. 93 (B)]

5;Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

brigands captured. The army returned with a booty of 300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 26*b*, 27*a*).

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*).

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 13*a*) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*b*), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 13*a*; 19: 7*b*). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436–50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation and farming among them, established a tea bureau and every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 16*a*).

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during 1450–1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by the same eastern Mongol groups and some Oirat groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liang-chow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung

[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

REVOLT OF TIBETAN TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

175x
563
579

Really desperate times were still in store for the population of Huangchung, for a half-century to come. This time the troubles were caused by the Tibetan tribes from Huangchung itself. After the restless Pa sha tribes had been defeated in 1516 by the Chinese army, some of their sub-tribes were exterminated or disintegrated. The chief of the Tsan-tsa tribe, one of the sub-tribes of Pa sha, succeeded in gathering some tribes under his leadership and in controlling 1,500 families. Other tribes living in the northwest of Hsining joined the group. Among them was the strong Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribe. They beseiged the city of Nienpei in 1550 and laid waste the country. Commander T'ang Yung beat the brigands. However, the brigands, using the time-honored ruse of a feigned retreat, killed the commander in an ambuscade.

In 1551 all the tribes northeast of Hsining plundered the Hung-nai valley. They administered to the Chinese army a crushing defeat; three officers and two thousand soldiers died on the field of battle. T'u-ssu Ch'i, Li, Hsin, and Wang participated in the battle (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15, 16; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 34).

The next year small groups of Kokonor brigands made raids in Yen-mei-ch'uan, north of Hsining, but were chased away (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 16).

In 1553 Tsan-tsa tribes with those of Erh-chia-ting again plundered the villages north of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 16; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 34).

In 1554 Kokonor brigands plundered Sa-t'ang valley and were beaten. They fled toward the southern valleys of Hsining, where they plundered for five days. On the arrival of the army they fled to the western valley of Hsining, but were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 34; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 16).

Tsan-tsa and Erh-chia-ting tribes in 1557 again raided the valleys south of Nienpei and plundered the lamasery of Ch'u-t'an-sse. Pursued by the army they plundered the valleys situated north of the Hsining River. More Tibetan tribes had joined the group, the Hung-mao, the La-tsa, the Ko-tsa, etc. The depredation in the country was wicked and ruthless. The t'u-ssu had to defend their own fortresses and villages. In the meantime Altan, the brother of Jinong beseiged the city of Kanchow calling all the Mongol brigands of the country, and went with his new army to Peking, plundering on the way the villages and cities of Shan-tan, Yung-ch'ang and Liangchow (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 16; 19: 7*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 34, 35) in Kansu.

The raids of Kokonor brigands and Tibetans raged unchecked during 1558 in all of Huangchung. The situation was out of control, the plight was desperate. T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47), and Yeh (*An-*

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

nals of Kansu 42: 52) had died in recent actions, and the troops suffered many reverses. Most of the armies, most of the time, did not fight, but liked better to stay at bay behind walls and barricade themselves in the cities. There were very few pitched battles on a large scale. In the meantime, the brigandage grew with the passing of the years, for it proved to be beneficial to the brigands, who at the same time revenged themselves on their former oppressors, murdering anyone who made a stand. The confidence in the empire, among the population beset with starvation and abject poverty, was shaken, and there was nothing to relieve the dreariness of life. The outlook remained gloomy and no new troops arrived in the country.

One can hardly understand why, in such critical circumstances, no more troops should have been sent to Huangchung and Kansu by the emperor, to save the starved and pillaged people and prevent the total ruin of the country. However, the troubles which beset Kansu were not the only ones with which the empire had to cope. During the entire reign of Emperor Cheng Te (1605–1622) the borders of the empire from Kansu up to Peking itself had been exposed to persistent and incessant attacks of Mongols, under the command of Dayan. In 1516 two groups, one of seventy, the other of fifty thousand Mongols, invaded Hsuan-hua-fu in Shansi Province. The conditions were similar during the reign of Chia Ching (1522–1567). In 1532 Hsiao Wang-tze with 100,000 men invaded the empire. In 1536 Chi Nang controlled 100,000 soldiers and raided Ninghsia, Tatung, and Hsuan-hua, and in 1544 the country around the capital was devastated and looted of its wealth. In 1550 the Mongols administered a crushing defeat to the Chinese armies and reached the northern gate of the capital where for eight days they laid waste the country and returned to the desert carrying with them a huge amount of booty. The raids, whetting the appetite for plunder, were resumed every year in the northern country. In 1561 they camped again under the walls of the capital. The raids continued unabated until finally in 1570 peace was granted to Altan (Dayan's grandson), who had sued for peace since 1542. Then markets were opened for his tribes and the title of Shun-i-wang bestowed upon him. The Obedient and Righteous Prince!

These circumstances explain why the brigands in Kansu had been fought in a nearly desultory fashion for half a century. They explain also the danger looming over the Ming dynasty, on account of the still strong savage Mongol forces and the lack of discipline and direction in the army.

The same conditions continued for more than a half century for the same reasons, lack of discipline and direction on the part of the army, and unity among the Mongols, strengthened by the benefits to be expected from the amount of loot furnished by the forays. Even when later the Mongols divided in two groups, each

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[82] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[83] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

[82] Pokotilov, 129.
[83] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137–141.

[P.47(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from plundering the country. Altan answered that the only reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574 markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu. However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration of power and magnificence, fled in all directions. Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immediately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mongol brigands, located them in villages, provided them with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In each village he opened a school. He gathered more than 100,000 families, and more uncultivated land was tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the country against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20).

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the western valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two

[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

centurions pursued them to Kokonor and perished in an ambuscade (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*).

In the autumn of 1583 Chulit'u, a Mongol chieftain of the group of Pin-tu from Sung Shan, in combination with the chieftain Yung Chao-pu of Kokonor, nephew of Altan, invaded the Sa-t'ang valley in Hsining with 8,000 horses. They killed and wounded more than 1,200 Tibetans, men and women, and drove away with them more than 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1585 the Kotsa tribe invaded the valleys south of Hsining and was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1586, in the sixth moon, the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor with Tibetans subject to him, numbering 10,000 horses, invaded Hsining, killed 500 surrendered Tibetans and stole 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*). At the same time Chuang T'u-lai from Kokonor raided Nienpei plundering many villages, while the brigands of Pin-tu and Sung Shan invaded the Yen-meich'uan valley, north of Hsining. They were repelled by the commander Wang Shih-te helped by the *t'u-ssu*. T'u-ssu Na was killed pursuing the brigands to Pien-Tu-Ku (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*; 31: 18).

The next year the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih in combination with Hung-mao tribes invaded the western valleys of Hsining, killed few people but stole 3,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33, 28*b*).

The Oirat Wa-la-t'a-pu-nmang, who had joined the Kokonor brigands with 5,000 Tibetans, invaded the valleys south of Hsining in 1588. He stole 1,400 cattle and 700 horses from the Chinese army. The Chinese army suffered a crushing defeat. Three t'u-ssu, Li, Ch'eng, and Chao were killed and 800 soldiers, among them 40 centurions (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*; 33: 29*a*).

In 1589 the Tibetan Ha-tsa tribes raided Sanch'uan south of Nienpei. The centurion Liu Ts'ung-jen repelled them and was killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*). At the same time the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor invaded the valleys south of Hsining and Nienpei with 500 horses, joined Chineng, the grand-nephew of Altan, and Tsaisengfu and Mangko-tsu, belonging to the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan with 4,000 horses. They beseiged the monastery of Ch'u-t'an-sse for seven days, killing many people and burning the houses. The monastery offered them some hundreds of oxen and horses and they left. T'u-ssu Yeh and Wang pursued them and were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19; 33: 19*a*).

In 1590 the Tibetan Tsantsa tribes plundered Sa T'ang valley and were repelled but a centurion was killed. Ch'ih-li-ko, who in 1587 had received the title of Obedient and Righteous Prince and was the second successor of Altan, accompanied the Dalai Lama with his army on his way back to Lhasa after the perform-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

ance of the ceremonies for Altan. After having lingered for a while in Kokonor, he assisted on his way back home in the plundering of the cities and the regions of T'ao and Ming Chou by the Mongols. The same year the brigands Tsai-Seng-fu and Achihtu of the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan plundered the Lungpu tribes southwest of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 19). Tibetan tribes from Szechwan came to finish the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou and were repelled. Then the turbulent Ho-lo-ch'ih looted Lin-T'ao region (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36).

HELP SENT BY THE EMPEROR

The situation in East Kansu and Huangchung in 1590 was completely out of control. The country was entirely laid waste and devastated, the Mongol brigands and the Tibetans had incessantly overrun the country, the Chinese forces could not contravene their strength. Many surrendered Tibetan tribes had disintegrated. had disappeared, had been exterminated; the cattle were stolen; many young women had been abducted and many had fled and hidden in the mountains. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless and the destitution of the people was tragic.

A note in the *Annals* of Hsining (33: 19*a*) records to what extent and in what way the Mongol brigands of Kokonor had terrorized, and subjected, reduced to the level of slaves the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor, East Kansu and Huangchung. The chieftain Yung-chao-pu, nephew of Altan, controlled at the time of his arrival in the Kokonor only 1,000 subjects: at present he controlled more than 10,000. The chief Sang-ehr-huang t'ai-chi formerly controlled 800 subjects but now 3,000. The chieftains Kosina and Lashala formerly controlled 4,000 people each but now each of them controlled 10,000 and more. The number of the subjects controlled by the other chiefs is not known.

Finally in 1590 the emperor sent Cheng Lo, president of the ministry of war, to cope with the situation (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 36).

On the first moon of the following year Cheng Lo sent Colonel Shih Chia with the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Te, to call the Tibetan tribes to surrender; 165 tribes numbering 74,710 persons surrendered (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*; 25: 20*a–b*; 33: 16*b*). Among the surrendered tribes in Huangchung are noted the Hung-mao tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a*), the Lapu-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a*), the Lungpu tribes led by their lama Sonanchintso (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3*a–b*), the 29 Tsan-tsa tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 4*b*), and the Sukomi tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 5*b*).

In the ninth moon he sent the brigade General Wang Shih-te, the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Lu Kuang-tsu and groups of surrendered Tibetan tribes, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands and eager to avenge all the sufferings they had endured, to fight the Mon-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*).

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20*a*–*b*).

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*).

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 23*a*–*b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials.

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western

[P. 49(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the Khoshot tribes (Oirats) went to Kokonor with his armies. He conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam and East Tibet, defeated the enemies of the Dalai Lama, occupied Lhasa and proclaimed in 1642 the Dalai Lama Nag-dbang bLo-bzang temporal and spiritual sovereign of Central Tibet.[85] 175x

From 1597 until 1642 no events are recorded in either *Annals* concerning Huangchung. The country enjoyed a relative peace, while its borderlands still suffered raids from the same Mongols.

THE MONGUORS AND THE FALL OF THE MING DYNASTY 175x 648

Desperate times were still in store for the Monguors and their t'u-ssu, and tremendous sacrifices were still requested from them to save the tottering dynasty, but the Monguors with their t'u-ssu stood loyal as a rock to the end.

The restless Mongol tribes had, during two and a half centuries, harrassed the dynasty, administering many crushing defeats to the armies, devastating the border provinces of the empire, and the neighborhood of the capital, causing the ruin and the revolt of the Tibetans, draining the resources of the empire and weakening the discipline of the armies and administrations. This sword of Damocles was still hanging over the dynasty when another ominous plague threatened the empire, the plague of brigands from inside the empire. The Ming dynasty was so effete her fall was imminent.

During the T'ien-ch'i period (1621–1627) Chinese brigands led by Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung ruthlessly murdered the people and savagely devastated the cities and villages, to the point that the exasperated Chinese population hoped for new rulers.[86]

According to the Lu chronicles, in 1628 a severe famine desolated the region of Yenan and Suei-te (Shensi), so many times plundered by Mongols during two and one-half centuries. Wang Chia-yun, a native of Fu-ku, stirred the starving people to band together and go plundering through the country. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, planning a revolution against the dynasty, seized the opportunity to organize the already plundering groups of brigands and realize their plan. 175x 579 668

During 1628–1640 the revolution raged unchecked. The rumors spread like a prairie fire in Huangchung and North Kansu, and the population was frightened out of its wits, when the brigands poured from Hsi-an through the Kuan-chung pass toward Kansu. 175x 669

In 1641 the old Hsining t'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (descendant of the Myriarch Kung-k'o-hsin-chi, founder of the Ch'i clan) and his two sons, Hsing-chu and P'ing-chu, invited to a secret convention to discuss

[85] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 603.

[86] Erich Hauer, Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, Ein Beitrag zum Ende der Ming Dynasty, *Asia Major*, Vol. secundum fasc. 3/4: 436 sq., 1925.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

capture the cities lost at the hands of the revolting Ming commanders. He recovered all the cities, one after the other, Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao and Kuei Te, and saved the beseiged city of Kung Ch'ang. The brother of T'u-ssu Lu was killed in the fight at Ho-ya-lung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60). In a little more than three years Meng Ch'iao-fang had recovered one hundred and more cities and fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1, 2). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 2) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3) fought at Kuei Te. After these arduous campaigns the Monguor troops were released, and could start repairing the tremendous havoc wrought by the Mongol brigands of Kokonor and Sung Shan I, and by the rebel Tibetans, during the last 150 years of the Ming regime. In the meantime the Manchu armies conquered more provinces in the empire and still had intermittent revolts to quell in the very south of East Kansu and on the Szechwan borders.

In 1660 a revolt is recorded of the Mohammedan Ta Erh-han, a member of the Yeh t'u-ssu, who induced Tibetans of Kokonor to help plunder the valley of Milaku, the region situated on the northern borders of the Yellow River south of Nienpei. The guard of the Milaku region had been entrusted to the Yeh t'u-ssu since the Yuan and Ming times. The faithful T'u-ssu Yeh killed the rebel and nine of his men, and captured two others whom he delivered to Hsining. The invaders fled to Kokonor. The Yeh t'u-ssu was a clan of Mohammedans from Turkistan which was settled in Milaku in Yuan times (Monguors 1: 32; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*). Later, at the time of the revolt of Wu San-kuei in 1673, a group of the Yeh clan started following the rebels. The faithful t'u-ssu again succeeded in quelling the revolt, killing many of them. He was promoted to secretary commander as a reward for his faithfulness (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*b*).

In 1665 Huai Erh-lai, a Tibetan from Kokonor, with his two brothers and their tribes, looted the country along the trade road between Kanchow and Liang-chow. Wang Chin-pao, the commander of Hsining, repulsed the brigands (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*) helped him.

The tremendous rebellion of Wu San-kuei, the first benefactor of the Ch'ing dynasty, who had put the Manchus in possession of the empire started at the end of the year 1673. The revolt spread through eleven of the eighteen provinces of the empire, and required eight years for its suppression. East Kansu was soon lost to the Manchus and the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'aochow, Lin T'ao, Kung Ch'ang, etc. were taken by the rebels. The bridge of Lanchow, which secured the communication between East and West Kansu, was broken up. In that way no armies along West Kansu could come to the rescue of East Kansu. However, General Wang Chin-pao of Hsining rushed to Lanchow with his army and all the Monguor troops under com-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops.

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51).

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-

lowed them dared not return to Kanchow, for fear of severe punishments. They liked better to settle in the region of Pe-ta, situated 120 li north of Hsining, outside the jurisdiction of the prefecture, and belonging to the Mongols. They tilled the soil and built houses. More people had joined their group which already numbered 10,000 families in 1693. They brought the regulatory *t'ien pa* (land) taxes to the Mongols. T'u-ssu Li, having investigated the circumstances with other commanders, reported that the Pe-ta region had become a favorite thoroughfare along which Mongols and Tibetans traveled, spying on Huangchung. The group of settlers conversant with the Chinese regions where they constantly traveled also supplied them with information. Lamas traveled the whole year long on their way to Tibet without regulatory passes, etc. The t'u-ssu proposed to compel the entire group of settlers to return to their original countries, for the offense of having revolted had long since been forgiven, and to forbid the bringing of the *t'ien pa* taxes to the Mongol princes, according to the regulations issued by the Manchu emperor in 1658. He proposed to forbid lamas to travel to Tibet through the Pe-ta region, but to travel with passports secured on fixed passes. If serious measures were not taken, sooner or later troubles would arise, all the more since Tibet is for the moment seriously troubled and Galdan is disturbing the empire. Nobody knows what would be in store in the future. If the Mongol princes and settlers would not comply with the regulations, the army should be used to compel them to obey (*Annals* of Hsining **34**: 5*a*).

T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai, brother of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pe-chai, having graduated from the military academy and in 1673 fought the rebel Wu San-kuei in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, had been promoted to second captain in Wei Yuan Pu. He had also fought rebels in Chin Chou and Li Hsien in East Kansu, had been promoted to major and transferred with his troops to Chang Chia Ku north of Peking in Chihli Province, to participate in the war the emperor was waging against the Jungar (Oirat) chief Galdan. After the death of the Oirat chief Yeh Hsien, who had captured the Ming emperor and proclaimed himself emperor of all the Mongols and had been killed in 1455, the Oirats had divided into four groups. Galdan, chief of the Choros group and the Jungar tribes, dreamed of building a new Jungar empire and expelling the Manchus from China.

Galdan, having already conquered Kashgaria, Turfan and Hami, and been ruling over Central Asia, had still to win the four Khalkha groups in order to control the united Mongol race. In 1688 he invaded their territory. The Khalkhas fled to Tumet and asked the emperor for protection. In 1690 Galdan had struck a severe blow at Kalgan. In 1696 the emperor, himself leading one of his three armies, went to meet Galdan in the Kerulen region. T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were still available for culture.

[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles. Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

still available for culture. More troops had arrived in Hsining on account of the troubles in Tibet and those in Turkistan caused by the Jungars. Troops had to be fed and more grain was required (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 21*a*). 175*

The period of troubles and calamities originating from Kokonor and already long present in Huang-chung started in 1723.

Tsewang Rabdan, nephew of the late Galdan, had succeeded his uncle as chief of the Jungars (1697). He was as hostile to the emperor as his uncle, and was as good a friend of the *desi* Sangs rgyas as his uncle. The sixth Dalai Lama, appointed by the *desi* and the Panchen Lama and enthroned in 1697, had proved to be a debauched man. In 1701 the Kokonor Prince La Tsang, protector of the Yellow Church, the Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan and a delegate of the emperor compelled him to resign. He obeyed but, backed by the *desi*, he reserved for himself the temporal rights of his kingdom. Prince La Tsang confined the *desi* to prison and killed him. The emperor appointed La Tsang to the office of *desi* and ordered him to bring to Peking the dethroned Dalai Lama. However, many lamas and Tibetans still favored him and objected strongly. Finally the unpopular La Tsang succeeded in 1706 in moving the escort to Peking. The caravan was attacked on the way by lamas and Tibetans, and the Dalai was killed. La Tsang, in concert with the Panchen lama, appointed as sixth reincarnation, the lama Yeches, but he was taken in ill grace by lamas and Tibetans. All the more rumors were spread that in Li T'ang the genuine reincarnation was born. The emperor, to nip in the bud all these rumors, confined the Li T'ang reincarnation and his parents in the lamasery of Kumbum in Hsining. Despite the protestations of lamas, and even of many of the princes of Kokonor, the enthroning of the sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was ordered by the emperor and performed in 1710. 175* 648 795

The Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan was incensed by the repeated intrusions of the emperor in the affairs of Tibet, conversant with the animosity instilled in the hearts of the lamas of the entire Yellow Church and of the Tibetan tribes against the Chinese empire, conscious of the hatred fostered in the whole nation against the Khoshot La Tsang, who had dethroned their Dalai Lama and was told to have him murdered on the way to Peking. Well informed about the anti-Chinese dispositions of even the princes of Kokonor, Rabdan considered the time ripe to take possession of Tibet and Kokonor, and to rule the Yellow Church. He resolved to pose as the savior of the religion, leading his armies to Hsining to bring to Lhasa the Dalai Lama, the idol of the nation, together with lamas and the princes of Kokonor. His first army marching on Hsining was defeated, but the second, commanded by his brother Tsereng Dondoub, reached Lhasa in 1717, defended by Prince La Tsang. Treacherously, a city gate was 175* 579 795

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed and looted the temples and the city, killing many people. La Tsang was killed.

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76-77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644-1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1-92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197-235, 375-424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*. Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

REVOLT OF 1723–1724

After the successful enthronement of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa in 1720, it seems that a period of peace was to be expected. However Huangchung had to go through a new tremendous ordeal of destruction, ruin, and ruthless murder, caused by the revolt of the Kho-shot Prince of Kokonor, bLo-bzang tan-chin, a grand-son of Ku Shih Khan.

All the princes of Kokonor had participated in the Lhasa expedition in 1720 and had seen their wishes fulfilled by the enthronement of their beloved Dalai Lama. On account of the troubles in Lhasa which had lasted for so many years, related to the enthronements and the depositions of Dalai Lamas and the interference of the Chinese emperor in Tibetan affairs, the princes must have shared for a long time the grudge and the hatred of the lamas and the Tibetans against the Chi-nese empire.

Back in Kokonor the ambitious Prince bLo-bzang tan-chin had started dreaming about the unification under his command of all the Kokonor tribes, and at the rebuilding of the nation of his ancestor Ku Shih Khan. He enticed the Kokonor princes and the chiefs at a convention in Ch'a han t'o lo hai to swear to re-nounce the titles previously granted to them by the emperor. He started calling himself Dalai hun t'aichi in order to induce them to follow his example. It was an act of rebellion against the empire. However two princes Ch'a han tan-chin and Ah-erh-te-mi refused to follow his injunctions; they compelled their troops to abandon him. A fight was about to start between them but, deeming their forces too inferior to those of bLo bzang, Ch'a han tan-chin, first sent his wife and 140 of his people to the pass of Lao Ya Kuan outside the great wall of the city of Ho Chou. Ch'ang Chou vice-president of the administrative organ of Hsining invited him to move his people into the city of Ho Chou, and ordered him to leave the defense of the pass to his troops. bLo bzang prepared to cross the Yellow River to fight. This happened in the eighth moon of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 52*a–b*).

But Nien Keng-yao, Governor General of Szechwan and Shensi provinces, and Yueh Chung-ch'i, com-mander in chief of the troops of Szechwan, had already arrived from Szechwan Province with their troops to quell the revolt. The Chinese had long since had first-hand information concerning the unrest brewing in Ko-konor. They knew that Ch'a-han nomenhan, appointed by Lhasa as chief of the lamasery of Kumbum, had pledged allegiance to bLo-bzang, that princes of Koko-nor in combination with all the Tibetan tribes of Ko-konor depending upon bLo-bzang, and those of Hsi-ning, subjects of the monasteries, and others were ready to revolt with the lamas of Huangchung.

In the tenth moon the revolt burst forth like a pent-up stream; 200,000 rebels invaded Hsining, steal-ing cattle, burning villages, and fighting with the troops.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The situation was very serious, because the revolt spread over the whole country of Huangchung and was general. In the northern part of Huangchung, the monastery of Erh Ku Lung alone controlled forty daughter monasteries. Each monastery was a center of revolt, situated in a tortuous valley, guarded by towering mountains, for Huangchung is a mountainous country with poor means of communication, with almost impassable trails, and passes hard to overcome and control.

However, Nien Keng-yao was equal to the situation and extensive powers had been granted to him. He had called from Szechwan, Shensi, and Kansu provinces combat troops inured to hardships, and had chosen capable officers whom he appointed to jobs that gave them full scope for their abilities. He called the Monguor t'u-ssu and ordered 2,000 of their troops, conversant with the intricate geography of the country and conversant with the chiefs of the tribes who lived in their neighborhood. He called all available resources into play.

Everywhere the lamas, the Kokonor Mongols and the Tibetans were the most furious fighters. This seems to point to the fact that they seethed with the greatest hatred against the empire, despite all the favors the lamas had received from the emperors. Nien Keng-yao understood that he had to fight savage and enraged enemies. He went about the job with draconian severity and acted without let-up and with incredible speed.

In the tenth moon the northern, western, and southern valleys of Hsining were cleared by three armies and the besieged fortresses saved. Many, many rebels were slaughtered. In the eleventh moon one army cleared the region of Chuang Lang and defeated Tibetan tribes. Another had to return to the Tatung valley, north of Hsining, to finish drastically the new rebellion.

bLo-bzang, considering the overwhelming forces marshalled against him and their ruthless behavior, asked to surrender. This was refused. More troops arrived at the rebelling monastery of Ch'i Chia Sse where 500 lamas and 1,000 Tibetans were mercilessly killed in the fight.

In the twelfth moon, Mongol Khoshot princes surrendered with more than 100,000 of their followers, while the army still defeated the rebelling Tibetans in the region of Kuei Te, where the monasteries were burned down.

In the first moon of 1724 the armies had to fight the monasteries of Erh Ku Lung, Kuo Mang (Seerkok), and Ch'ieh bzang, the most important centers of resistance. The lamas of Erh Ku Lung had called to arms all their subjects, who awaited the army in resolute array; 13,000 of their subjects were killed in the action. The number of lamas killed is not noted, but it is recorded that they fought furiously, that 700 lamas were killed in Seerkok alone (Monguors II: 34–37).

[P.58(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The three biggest monasteries in the country were burned to the ground, also 7,000 houses and 17 villages of the subjects of the monastery of Erh Ku Lung. The whole country was a ruin.

In the second moon a crushing defeat was administered to bLo-bzang in Kokonor by General Yueh Chung-ch'i; 8,000 of his troops were killed in several encounters, and 10,000 surrendered. bLo-bzang fled riding a white camel. Another army led by Nien Keng-yao, consisting mostly of Monguor soldiers, burned the monastery of Shih Men Sse, where 600 lamas and Tibetans were killed and a huge quantity of weapons was found hidden.

In the third moon Yueh Chung-ch'i went again to Kokonor in pursuit of bLo-bzang, clearing the country of the scattered rebels. Arriving at their central camp unawares, he captured the mother of bLo-bzang, his sister-in-law, and a large number of people and horses. Eight princes submitted. The Kokonor troops had been dashed into rout and ruin.

In the fourth moon the T'ieh Pu tribes from the region of Ho Chou, depending upon bLo-bzang, had started plundering while the troops were fighting in Kokonor. General Nien destroyed 41 of their villages and received the surrender of 37. Two thousand Tibetans had been killed and many had been captured with a number of cattle.

In the fifth moon General Yueh cleared the region between Chuang Lang and Liangchow from where the troops had incessantly been attacked. The Tibetan tribes and the lamas were defeated, several thousands of Tibetans captured, and the monasteries Chu Kung, Chiarto, Hoki, Nan Ch'ung, Simi and T'ien T'ang destroyed or burned. Then the army cleared the region of Cho Tze Shan. Most of the Monguor troops had participated in the punitive expedition.

In the tenth moon bLo-bzang was still not captured. An army was sent again to find him. Only one of his important officers and his wife were captured, but 33 princes submitted.[93]

It is hard to understand the reticence concerning the destruction of the entire monastery of Kumbum and the killing of eight of their most prominent lamas, for whom eight stupas were later erected. Now the Chinese call Kumbum the "monastery of the eight stupas." Nothing is said either, in the *Annals* of Kansu, concerning the beheading of two Living Buddhas (Monguors I: 34–37; II: 25, 26).

THE T'U-SSU HAD PARTICIPATED IN QUELLING THE REVOLT

T'u-ssu Ch'i Tsai-hsuan in 1723 had guarded the Ta Hsia rapids with his troops, in order to impede fleeing lamas and Tibetans from spreading the revolt

[93] *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52–58; 42: 24a. *Annals* of Hsining 16a–b. bLo-bzang had fled to the Jungars, where his friend Tsewang Rabdan protected him.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Huangchung and the Monguors, after the troubles of 1723–1724, enjoyed peace for sixty years. All that time they assisted in the complete change of the administration and of the country, caused by the confiscation of the large properties and Tibetan tribes which belonged to the lamas. They assisted in the rebuilding of cities, villages and fortifications, schools and granaries, and rebuilt and overhauled their own properties. Every day new regulations were issued to which everybody had to comply, and everywhere Chinese officials and bureaus were encountered. The Chinese officials played the capital role in the country. A large army occupied the country. The influence the t'u-ssu had enjoyed during centuries was waning rapidly.

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN REVOLT—WAHHABISM

All of a sudden in 1781 the terrible revolt broke out among the Mohammedans in Kansu. It portended ominous events.

The Salars, Turks, originating from Turkistan (Samarkand, according to the traditions) inhabited during the Yuan time both borders of the Yellow River, in the region of Hsun Hua T'ing in East Kansu, and in the regions of Pa Yen Jung in southern Huangchung. The time of their arrival in Kansu is unknown, but certainly they lived in that region at the end of the Yuan because two of their chiefs had already surrendered to the Ming in 1370, and received the office of t'u-ssu. The Salars live in thirteen groups called *kong*. The four upper and the four lower groups are called the eight inside Salar *kong* and are controlled by their t'u-ssu. The remaining five groups, called the outside Salar *kong*, are controlled by the subprefecture of Pa Yen Jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). Han Pao-yuan, t'u-ssu of the four upper Salar groups, lives with his subjects in the region of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Han. Han Sha-pa, t'u-ssu of the four lower Salar groups, inhabits the region east of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Ma (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Both t'u-ssu are the founders of the two Salar groups. The Salars profess Islam, but all over the country among their neighbors are many Chinese Mohammedans.

Wahhabism, a sect founded by Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab who died in 1787, aimed at the revival of the primitive orthodoxy of Islam and the abolition of the innovations contrary to the Sunni. He reacted violently against, at that time, the more and more popular cult of the Saints, Prophets, and the Graves.[98]

It happened that in 1762 a Mohammedan from Anting in Kansu, called Ma Ming-hsin, arrived back in Hsun Hua from a pilgrimage (to Mecca?). On his way he had been captivated by the violent discussions, at that time in full swing, relating to the new sect of the

[98] Henri Masse, *L'Islam*, 208–209, Paris, Armand Colin, 1930.

Wahhabits, and had witnessed the fanaticism and the successes reaped by its promoters. He was enthusiastic about the idea of a return to the original orthodoxy. On his arrival, he posed in the Hsun Hua community as the possessor of the genuine doctrine and the champion of the religion founded by Mohammed and his companions. In the services in the mosques he urged the recitation of prayers with a loud voice, for it was the rite practiced in the new sect. It tremendously shocked the other Mohammedan communities, used to reciting the texts in a low voice, so that they accused the disturbers of the religion to the officials. The Salar, Su Forty-three, with other Salars, invited Ma Ming-hsin as teacher and head of all the Mohammedan communities of Hsun Hua. Bitter discussions arose between the two groups, and forty adherents of the old religion were killed. An accusation was dispatched to the governor in Lanchow, who immediately sent two military officials with their troops to Hsun Hua to quell the revolt. However, the new religious group had already grown so fast and become so numerous, that Su Forty-three was able to beat the troops, kill the officials, and occupy the city of Ho Chou. New troops which arrived did not dare go to Ho Chou and they garrisoned in Ti-tao. Then the new religious rebels ran to Lanchow. They defeated the 800 poor troops of Lanchow, besieged the city, occupied the western corner of the city, and broke up the bridge over the Yellow River. New troops came from Kanchow and Szechwan. In the meantime, the officials of Anting had captured Ma Ming-hsin, the fomenter of the revolt in the city and sent him to the prison of Lanchow. The rebels requested their leader. From upon the city wall, the official made him exhort the rebels to keep quiet and return home. It did not work. Then Ma Ming-hsin was killed with his son.

Just at that time T'u-ssu Lu Fan, from Lien Ch'eng, had arrived with 300 Monguor troops and was attacked by the rebels. His troops were nearly all killed and the t'u-ssu was wounded. Then the rebels retired to the nearby Hua Lin mountains and prepared entrenchments. General A Kuei was called from Szechwan to quell the revolt. The army dared not attack the fanatic rebels in the mountains. The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu, leading his Salar Mohammedan troops of the old religion, was first to attack and enter the mountains. He was very successful. Later he recovered the city of Ho Chou. More troops arrived from Szechwan and Mongol troops from Alashan. In the mountainous country they administered a crushing defeat to the rebels who fled to the Hua Lin temple. It was burned down with the rebels inside. Few escaped, among them Su Forty-three, who was captured and killed. The revolt was quelled. Then followed the murdering of the entire families of hundreds of the adherents to the sect, forbidden to pray with a loud voice, to collect money and alms, etc.

[P.64(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x
The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been 709
related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wear- 624
ing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57).

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new 175x
religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nien- 648
pei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of [795]
these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien, member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60).

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lan- [703]
chow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and received the button of the second degree, worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 175x
1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect 795
in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of 648
the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were 579 ●
brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and 798
rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782, in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu had started digging entrenchments and moving the wives and children to strongholds in the mountains, weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000 wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt was quelled.

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard 175x
the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 579

[P.64(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'u-ssu Lu yin, member of the Lu clan, guarded the Yang-chia temple region (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the Ping Ku pass near Lien Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuen guarded the Lu P'an Shan region and was later called to guard Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*–*b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai with 300 Monguors guarded the Kuan Miao T'an in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Huai-peh guarded the Ping Ku pass with Kan T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the bridge in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu fought in Fu Ch'iang and was rewarded with the title of lieutenant colonel (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Fu Ch'iang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu for the second time had to bear the brunt of the revolt. The country and the people suffered tremendously for the officials were determined to annihilate completely the adherents of the sect and their families.[96]

NEW SECT IN HSINING

However, the sect of the new religion was already rooted too deep in the minds of the Kansu Mohammedans to get rid of it by crushing two revolts and killing many people. In 1789 a small group of adherents to the sect were discovered among the Mohammedans in Hsining by the officials. They held meetings and created disturbances in the Mohammedan colony. They were captured, a number of them killed with their families, the rest exiled to Ho Lun Chiang by order of the emperor.[97]

The sect of the White Lotus religion had already spread in five provinces in 1796. It would still last seven years before it would be quelled. In 1798 a strong group of 12,000 rebels invaded East Kansu in the third moon, parted in two groups and started devastating and plundering the country. All available troops were ordered to come to the rescue of the Shensi and Kansu troops. T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun went with 300 Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu went with his soldiers of the old religion (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu also went to the rescue and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*). The remaining t'u-ssu protected the borders of Huangchung along the Yellow River.

In the seventh moon of 1800 the country was at peace (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 59–61). Huangchung

[96] Both revolts are summarized according to *Annals* of Kansu 47: 1–3. J. J. M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 311–327, sq., Amsterdam, Muller, 1903. Commandant d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, 229, sq., Paris, Leroux, 1911.

[97] J. J. M. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 327.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu had borne for the third time the brunt of the revolt.[98] 175x 579

In 1806 tremendous rains ruined the districts of Chang Hsien, Ming Chou, and Leang Tang. Inundations of the Yellow River followed in the southern part of East Kansu. Cattle were drowned, many villages no longer existed, and the poor and destitute Tibetan tribes started plundering the country. T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-ming was sent in 1807 to Ch'i Chia Chai to guard the banks of the Yellow River where the people were used to crossing it, in order to prevent inroads of starving, pillaging people into Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

TIBETAN REVENGE UPON THE MONGOLS OF KOKONOR

In 1822 a revolt of twenty-three Tibetan tribes broke out in the regions of Hsun Hua and Kuei Te. The Mongols in 1509 had invaded Kokonor, the pasture grounds of the Tibetans. They had occupied the best pastures and relegated the Tibetans to poor and small pastures, or annihilated them entirely. This situation had lasted until 1726 when each tribe became the proprietor of the grounds it occupied, but the Khoshots were favored by the fact that they remained the proprietors of the large and best pastures stolen from the Tibetans in 1509. The glorious period of the Khoshots was at a very low ebb and the Tibetans deemed the opportunity at hand to recover their old pastures, to chase the hated, enfeebled Mongols and to occupy the pastures on the northern borders of the Yellow River which were in the hands of the Khoshots. 175x 628

A long period of devastation and murder succeeded. The Tibetan lama Chaghan Nom-un Khan was one of the leaders of the revolt. Many Khoshots left the country. The revolt spread rapidly. Many Tibetan tribes of the Kanchow and Yung Ch'ang and Liangchow regions joined the revolt and plundered the lands of the Mongols. Those of Liangchow attacked Mongol tribes in Sung Shan and stole 4,000 cattle, those of Kanchow plundered the Uighur tribes in the vicinity of the city, etc. The whole country was upset: the army was in a hurry. Except for an inroad in Tatung and one in Hsiao Hsia, Huangchung was not devastated. The officials removed from the lama the tribes he controlled. The revolt was not quelled until 1854, after thirty years. No notes are recorded concerning the movement of Monguor troops against the revolting Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 62*a–b*).

The empire had a bad time, for in the meantime revolts raged unchecked in the provinces of middle and north China. A new uprising of the White Lotus sect had started in 1831. The sect continued its ravages and destruction under new names. The revolt was followed in 1850 by the insurrection of the Taiping, which 175x 579 795

[98] J. J. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 363, sq.

[P. 65(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire.

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin.

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS, 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of Kansu 47: 4 sq.

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted.

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

[P. 66(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 795

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). 579 628 [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway *Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*). [798]

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta huei*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua sse*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

[P. 66(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the city was grateful and ready to help them. The second group called three thousand outsiders. However, the attackers were beaten by the old group, the local militia of the Chinese population. 175x 795 579 628

In 1865 the depredation of the cities of Ku Lang, Yung Ch'ang, Shan Tan, and Kanchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan, was wicked and ruthless. The rebels carried by storm the city of Suchow, and a terrible massacre of the population took place; 10,000 Chinese were killed. The pass of Chia Yu Kuan was captured by the rebels. At the time the rebels passed Liangchow, many Mohammedans from the vicinity fled into the city for shelter. The official, unable to put reliance on them and suspecting their connivance with the rebels, massacred them all in the city.

In the third moon the city of Hsining was besieged for a second time. The rebels were put to flight. Then they attacked the city of Donkir again. They were chased and looted several villages. At that time the dissension among the two groups had subsided. Mohammedans of Hsining attacked the city of Lao Ya Ch'eng but were beaten.

T'u-ssu Ah helped defend the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi died on the field of battle defending the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*). T'u-ssu Hsin, after the defense of the city, disappeared in the mountains and returned only in 1886 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*). During the whole year the Mohammedans had devastated East Kansu and Huangchung.

During 1866–1867 the attacks continued, and the army resisted in the same desultory fashion. The power of the Mohammedans was too strong and that of the army too feeble and uncoordinated. All these expeditions were in the nature of pillaging parties, which were murdering and kidnapping people, and carrying away all the valuables they could find. They stirred the bitter hatred which burned in the hearts of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, and that of the Mohammedans against the Chinese.

In 1868 the Mohammedans of Hsining again looted the Donkir region and were defeated in Shen Chung. Their chief Ah Wu was captured and killed with 1,300 of his brigands.

In the tenth moon, the new governor general of Shensi-Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, appointed in 1866, arrived with his troops to quell the revolt.

In 1869–1870 the general first attacked the most important center of the uprising. He quelled the revolt of Ma Hua-lung and cleared the Ninghsia district of rebels. He acted as ruthlessly with the Mohammedans as they had behaved with the Chinese. The massacre [798] of the Mohammedans was tremendous. The stronghold of Chin Chi Pu, the center of the revolt, was burned to the ground with the defenders of the city who fought with the courage of despair. Nothing was heard of them any more. Ling Wu was taken in the same way and few defenders escaped.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The Mohammedan population of Ninghsia was very dense. It inhabited many important villages. One village after another was destroyed but a few Mohammedans managed to escape toward Shensi or Huang-chung. The army commanders of Ninghsia and the local militia, which had suffered so many reverses and lost many soldiers at the hands of the Mohammedans, were in high spirits and revenged themselves against their former oppressors. In the meantime the revolt went on in the other prefectures of Kansu-Shensi.

In 1871 Ma Hua-lung, who had surrendered the previous year, was killed with his father, his son, brothers, and the commander of his troops. The revolt was quelled in the prefecture of Ninghsia.

In the third moon the city of Lien Ch'eng, the stronghold of the Lu t'u-ssu, was attacked by the rebels. The attack failed and the rebels were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*).

In 1872, in the third moon, Tso Tsung-t'ang, leading his army, went to Hsining. The Mohammedans of Hsining, in combination with Salars and Shensi rebels, were at that time plundering the country, killing people, and converting their villages into fortresses, in expectation of attacks from the Chinese army. Tso Tsung-t'ang followed the tactics he had successfully used in Ninghsia, and before long he had the situation in hand. In combination with the Hsining troops he cleared the country, destroying the villages of Mohammedans one after another, and killing all the Mohammedans he could lay hand on. The figure of those killed ran into the ten thousands. More than 100 villages had been destroyed. The Mohammedan population of the Hsining country was very dense. This fact gives an insight into the power of the Mohammedans in the country, and the difficulty for small armies assigned to defend definite countries, and, without coordination among them to cope with the situation.

In the seventh moon the general moved to Lanchow to recommence the same tactics, annihilating the strongholds, killing and demoralizing the rebels.

In the eleventh moon several thousand Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining again. Among them were Salars of the two Salar t'u-ssu from Hsun Hua, the four upper and lower kungs, Mohammedans from Shensi province and from the suburbs of Hsining. The situation in Hsining seems to have been critical, for troops were sent by General Tso Tsung-t'ang from Lanchow. The troops could not cross the Tat'ung River, the boats having been burned by the rebels. The T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng, living on the borders of the river, immediately called his people to prepare a floating bridge, and the troops arrived on time in Hsining. The army administered a crushing defeat to the rebels, destroyed the Mohammedan suburb of Hsining, and the massacre followed. Then the local Mohammedans sued for peace and surrender in concert with the Salars. The officials suspected their faithfulness. They retired

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the subprefecture of Tat'ung and cleared the country in the same ruthless way. For many months the army had tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mohammedan population was very dense. Troops were sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In November the city was recovered, the country cleared, and the Mohammedan population of the whole country massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Ho Chou were recovered and the country cleared. The number of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mohammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860–1873, a relatively few number of notes are encountered concerning the role played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were running all over the whole country, and the forces of the regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities with their population. Huangchung had suffered terribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale. The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of cattle, houses, etc., was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans, had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dissension about religion and together fought fanatically their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895–1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860–1873, many cities and villages of Huangchung had been devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-two years, the country had more or less recovered from the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

broke out, as terrible as the preceding, and forecasting anew many days and nights of black despair. The news of a revolt of the Mohammedans was enough to cause a feeling of awe all over the country.

This time the revolt started in Hsun Hua in East Kansu where, in 1762, Ma Ming-hsin, coming back from a pilgrimage, had founded his new religion. It was caused by dissension among the Mohammedans of Hsun Hua concerning the old and new religions. Han Mu-li was the leader of the old religion group, and Han Ssu the leader of the new religion group. Fifty thousand Salars prepared to join the revolt. In Hsun Hua, at that time, there was a garrison of only five to six thousand soldiers.

The viceroy of the provinces of Shen Kan Yang, Ch'ang-chun, was informed. Immediately he ordered the commanders of Kanchow, Hsining, and Turkistan to move their troops around the Hsun Hua region, in order to encircle the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 63*b*, 64*a*). The troops arrived too late, the city of Hsun Hua was already besieged by Han Mu-li and the Salars, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou, Hai Ch'eng, and Pa Yen Jung, Nienpei had already joined the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 49, 58*a–b*).

But there is another version of the cause of the revolt. The troubles arose in Hsun Hua from the dissensions related to the old and new religions, in the first moon of 1895. Then the viceroy sent Commander Lei Cheng-kuan immediately to garrison with his troops in the city of Ho Chou, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt. However, the whole region was upset on account of the misconduct of the troops of Ho Chou. Two Mohammedan leaders of Hsun Hua went to see the commander in Ho Chou, asking to put his troops in order. He killed the two leaders and then the revolt started and spread like a prairie fire. Hsun Hua was besieged by Salars, Ho Chou and Hai Ch'eng joined the revolt.

Later, the investigations of the conduct of Commander Lei Cheng-kuan disclosed that the reason for the misconduct of the soldiers of his troops had been the overdue payment of his soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 42*a–b*, 43*a*).

Then followed many reverses and small successes of the Chinese troops, the flight of the besiegers of Hsun Hua in the fifth moon, and the spread of the revolt in Huangchung. In the sixth moon the Mohammedans of Hsining revolted, and with them all the Mohammedans of the whole country: Tatung and Pe-ta were besieged and captured. The Chinese troops were unable to cope with the revolt.

General Teng Tsen of Hsining asked for permission to order the enrollment of 200 soldiers of each of the tribes in the country (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 64).[100]

This note seems to point to the enrollment of the Monguor troops and their t'u-ssu, besides that of the

[100] d'Ollone, *op. cit.* 21: 299.

[P. 68(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Tibetan tribes. However, nowhere is recorded in this section the name of a t'u-ssu. Records about the t'u-ssu do not reach as far as 1895. 175x 795 579 623

Here we must close the chapter of the history of the Monguors during the Ch'ing dynasty, but a few words more will help one to understand the terrible devastation wrought in Huangchung during this revolt.

In the tenth moon, when the situation was completely out of hand, General Tung Fu-hsiang arrived with a strong army from Turkistan. He first went to Ho Chou and Hsun Hua, the centers of the revolt, ruthlessly murdering the Mohammedans in the way they had behaved with the Chinese. Then he pacified the Salars of Pa Yen Jung and the entire region south of Nienpei, along the northern borders of the Yellow River, all in the same bloody way. He went to Tat'ung and Pe-ta, and reached all the strongholds and fortified villages of the Mohammedans north, south, and east of Hsining, one after another, devastating the country and slaughtering the people.

In the second moon of 1896 the revolt was quelled. The remaining Mohammedans, having no way to live, fled toward Kokonor. The Tibetans and Mongols in Kokonor had been prevented from keeping in readiness to exterminate the rebels, pursued by the army. Small groups of them fled to Turkistan across the southern mountain range and submitted to the officials of Turkistan; most of them died from starvation and cold in the middle of the winter.

In 1920, traveling in the country, one encountered ruined villages and cities which told the story of both terrible Mohammedan revolts and this made it easy to understand the hatred which today still smolders in the hearts of Chinese and Mohammedans against each other in Kansu province. 175x

This first part of the book sheds light on the hopeless situation on the frontier regions during the Ming time. 175x 105

On the one hand, the uncouth Mongols were unable to organize a united front for the recovery of their lost empire; they were divided and subdivided in groups, fighting each other under the leadership of chieftains, seething with hatred and killing one another. They tumbled back into barbarism, invading the frontier regions, plundering, ravaging the country, abducting and killing the people. In Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor they ruined and scattered the Tibetan tribes, reducing them to the level of slaves.